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# The Journal of Daniel Smith

With Introduction and Notes by  
ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

(Reprinted from the Tennessee Historical Magazine, March, 1915.)



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## DOCUMENTS.

### I.

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*The Journal of General Daniel Smith, one of the Commissioners to Extend the Boundary Line between the Commonwealths of Virginia and North Carolina, August, 1779, to July, 1780.*

### INTRODUCTION.

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To place in a proper historical setting the interesting document which is now printed, we believe for the first time, it is necessary to recall some of the more important events which marked the period covered by General Smith's Journal. Turning first to the general progress of the American Revolution one notes that in 1778, the British, having failed to crush the rebellion of the Americans in the eastern and central theatres of the War, directed their attack anew upon the southern region. General Robert Howe, having lost Savannah to a British force under Colonel Campbell, was succeeded in command by General Benjamin Lincoln, who was likewise doomed to misfortune. Invested at Charleston, South Carolina, by Clinton, Lincoln surrendered with his whole army May 12, 1780. On August 16 his successor, Horatio Gates, was disastrously routed at the battle of Camden. To add to the danger which threatened the American cause, the treasonable designs of Benedict Arnold were maturing, though it was not until September, 1780, that the plot was discovered. Throughout this period the southern states were torn by what was really a civil war, in which the partisan bands of either side added to the misfortunes of the people the horrors of an irregular warfare.

Meanwhile the westward movement was continuing unabated. Taking first the viewpoint of Virginia, we remind the reader of the expedition sent out by that commonwealth to the Illinois country, which, under the command of George Rogers Clark, captured Kaskaskia, and, on February 24, 1779, brought about the surrender of the British post under Hamilton at Vincennes. The summer of 1779 found Clark forced to give up his plan of attacking Detroit "for want of

a few men."<sup>1</sup> Instead, he made the Falls of the Ohio (later Louisville) his base, to which, as to other points in Kentucky, great numbers of immigrants were pouring out from Virginia. This immigration was stimulated through the opening by Virginia of a land office in the western country, for which provision was made in May, and which began operations in October. On January 29, 1780, the governor of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, sent to Clark instructions authorizing him either to attack the Shawnees, to proceed against Detroit, or to build a fort at the mouth of the Ohio.<sup>2</sup> The last alternative was chosen by Clark, and to Clark's execution of it reference is made by General Smith in the *Journal*.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this fort upon the Mississippi, as explained by Jefferson, was that this "with other posts meant to be established upon the Ohio may form a chain of defense for our western frontier and at the same time protect our trade with New Orleans."<sup>4</sup>

In the summer of 1777 commissioners of North Carolina and of Virginia made with the northern group of Cherokees the Treaty of Holston, commonly known as Avery's Treaty. This was after the Indian war of 1776-1777, upon the frontiers of southwest Virginia and North Carolina. In November of this year North Carolina changed Washington District into Washington County, at the same time enlarging it to include all her western territory. In North Carolina, as in Virginia, a new wave of migration developed. In the spring of 1779 James Robertson and his companions departed from the Watauga region to make their settlement on the Cumberland, where, through the winter 1780, at the very time covered by General Smith's *Journal*, they were waiting for the arrival of their families. December 22, 1779, the company under John Donelson began their voyage on the Holston, and leaving Cloud's Creek on February 27, on April 24 reached the Big Salt Lick on the Cumberland River.

Meanwhile Virginia and North Carolina had agreed to extend westward the boundary line between the two states. Of the various stages in the determination of this famous line of demarcation, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, an interesting account is contained in a scholarly paper by W. R. Garrett, entitled, "Northern Boundary of Tennessee," which was read before the Tennessee Historical Society March 18, 1884, and was printed in the *American Historical*

1. James, J. A. (ed.), *George Rogers Clark Papers*, Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 8, pp. cix-cx.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 386 ff, from Draper Mss.

3. Below, p. 64.

4. Jefferson to Joseph Martin, Jan. 24, 1780, *Clark Papers*, p. 385.

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*Magazine*.<sup>5</sup> The earlier history of the line we may summarize in a few words.

By the second charter of Carolina, Charles II fixed as the northern boundary of that province the line of latitude  $36^{\circ} 30'$ . In 1710 the first effort was made to mark the line, but the commissioners failed to agree on the starting point. The second attempt in 1728 was more successful; the line was begun at the coast and carried about 169 miles westward to Buzzard Creek. Here the North Carolina Commissioners abandoned their work, but the line was carried some 72 miles farther by the Virginia Commissioners, one of whom, Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, has left in his "History of the Dividing Line," the most charming piece of literature produced in the colonies in his day. The point reached by Byrd was known as Peter's Creek, "within the shadow of Chariky (Cherokee) Mountains."

The next extension of the line was undertaken in 1749 under the supervision of Joshua Fry, professor of mathematics in William and Mary College, and Peter Jefferson, on the part of Virginia, and Daniel Weldon and William Churton on the part of North Carolina. Without disagreement the line was extended from Peter's Creek 88 miles to a point on Steep Rock Creek, in all 329 miles from the coast.

Of the next effort to continue westward the boundary line between the two provinces Garrett makes no mention. In 1771, after the negotiation of the Treaty of Lochaber, a line marking the eastern boundary of the Cherokee country had been run by Colonel John Donelson.<sup>6</sup> In the early map, of which mention is made hereafter, Daniel Smith makes an attempt to trace this line. Either then or later, but at some time before March, 1775, Colonel Donelson, acting on the authority of Virginia, also extended somewhat the line between North Carolina and Virginia. This is attested by a proclamation of Lord Dunmore, in which he warned all persons to endeavor to prevent the evil designs of Richard Henderson.<sup>8</sup> Upon this information of Dunmore's the governor of North Carolina caustically remarked that the survey was "an ex parte proceeding not authorized by His Majesty's Royal instructions to the gov-

5. Vol. 6 (January, 1901), pp. 18-39.

6. Thwaites, R. G., and Kellogg, L. P., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (1905), pp. 5, note, 122, 239; Haywood, John, *The Civil and Political History of Tennessee* (Reprint of 1891), pp. 504, 516. This edition of Haywood is cited throughout.

7. *Dunmore's War*, map facing p. 30.

8. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. 9, p. 1169. A photographic reproduction of a printed broadside of this proclamation is published by Archibald Henderson in *Neale's Monthly*, Vol. 1 (January, 1913), p. 74.

ernors of the two provinces."<sup>9</sup> As will be seen from Daniel Smith's *Journal*, he was well aware of this line and began his official work with an effort to locate it.<sup>10</sup> Haywood, it may be noted, refers to a line run experimentally in 1771 by Anthony Bledsoe, as far west as Beaver Creek, by which the settlers of northeast Tennessee discovered that they would fall into the state of North Carolina upon the extension of the boundary line.<sup>11</sup> Of this survey of Bledsoe we have thus far found no contemporary evidence.

In 1777, as a result of the purchases of land made from the Indians at the Treaty of Holston, to which we have referred above, it became manifest to the commissioners of the two states that it would be desirable to extend still farther westward the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina.<sup>12</sup> Consequently in October, 1778, the Assembly of Virginia and, a little later, the Assembly of North Carolina, passed acts very similar in their provisions to extend and mark the boundary.<sup>13</sup> The Virginia Act provided that two commissioners should be elected on joint ballot by the Assembly, and Dr. Thomas Walker and James Madison were chosen. Madison later declined, and Daniel Smith was appointed in his stead. By the North Carolina Act five commissioners were named for that state, as follows: Orandatus Davis, John Williams, Caswell James Kerr, William Bailey Smith, and Richard Henderson, any three of whom might serve. By both laws the commissioners were authorized to employ surveyors and assistants, and were provided with an armed guard for their protection. Over the guard and the details of the equipment there was

9. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. 9, pp. 1243-1244. Probably a part of this line is referred to in the "Path Deed" of Henderson's "Purchase," Haywood, p. 30.

10. Below, p. 48.

11. Haywood, p. 54.

12. *State Records of North Carolina* (hereafter cited as *S. R. N. C.*), Vol. 11, pp. 566-568. In his *History of Southwest Virginia* (1903), Summers gives two specific causes for the extension of the boundary line which differ somewhat both from each other and from the statement of the Commissioners who made the Treaty of Holston. From the records of Washington County Court in Virginia, Summers (p. 299) has taken an order of the court, for the arrest of William Cocke, lately a representative of Washington County in the Virginia Assembly, on the ground that, in Carter's Valley, on September 30, 1779, Cocke had refused to pay taxes to a Virginia deputy sheriff because he was in Carolina and not in Virginia. It was as a result of this, says Summers, that the Virginia and North Carolina Assemblies in 1779 provided for the extension of the line. This is a sample of careless writing: for elsewhere (p. 698) Summers recognizes that the Commissioners to extend the boundary line had been appointed and had begun their work before the date of the Cocke episode. Summers (pp. 695-696) gives another reason for the extension. In 1777 there was a disputed election between Anthony Bledsoe and William Cocke on the one hand and Arthur Campbell and William Edmiston on the other. The latter, the contestants, urged that the former, who had received a majority of the votes, had been elected by the citizens of North Carolina. Bledsoe, says Summers, introduced the boundary bill in the Virginia Assembly.

13. For the Virginia act, see Hening, W. W. (ed.), *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. 9 (1821), pp. 561-565. For the act of North Carolina, see *S. R. N. C.*, Vol. 24, pp. 300-302.



considerable correspondence between Richard Henderson and Governor Caswell of North Carolina.<sup>14</sup>

Of the North Carolina commissioners who actually served,—John Williams, William Bailey Smith, and Richard Henderson,—the last named is, of course, the most celebrated. Through his connection with the Transylvania Company and its famous Purchase of 1775, he was identified with the beginnings of Kentucky and Tennessee. As will appear below, his name appears frequently in the *Journal* of Daniel Smith. Dr. Thomas Walker, the senior commissioner of Virginia, was a veteran in the affairs of the west. At this time sixty-four years of age, he had for thirty or more years been interested in western lands. He was of a highly scientific turn of mind. His journal of his exploiting tour in 1748 is one of the earliest narratives of western Virginia and Kentucky; and he it was who bestowed many of the place-names now so familiar to us. He had served in the French and Indian War, and had been the representative of Virginia in the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. During the Revolutionary period he was a member of the Virginia Committee of Safety and one of the Council of that State.<sup>15</sup>

After the commissioners of the two states had determined a beginning point and had made some progress westward, there developed a lack of agreement between the commissioners of Virginia and those of North Carolina with reference to the observations upon which the running of the line must depend. As a result, "the two commissions separated, running parallel lines about two miles apart, the line of the Carolina commissioners, generally known as Henderson's Line, being north of the line of the Virginia commissioners, commonly called Walker's Line. The Carolina commissioners continued their line as far as Cumberland Mountain. At this point they abandoned the work, after sending a letter of protest against Walker's Line. The Virginia commissioners continued to Tennessee River, leaving an unsurveyed gap from Deer Fork<sup>16</sup> to the first or east crossing of Cumberland River, a distance which they estimated to be 109 miles."<sup>17</sup> To this concise summary of events Garrett adds an interesting discussion of the length, variation, and topography of the two lines, to which the

14. *S. R. N. C.*, Vol. 14, *passim*. See Index, Vol. 30, s. v. Virginia and North Carolina Boundary and Boundary Dispute.

15. Summers, L. P., *History of Southwest Virginia, passim*. *Dunmore's War*, p. 242, note. Johnston (ed.), *First Explorations of Kentucky*, Filson Club Publications (1898).

16. This should be Clear Fork. Garrett follows Haywood in the error.

17. Henning, *Statutes*, Vol. 9 (1821), pp. 562-565, note. The Virginia report is reprinted in Haywood, pp. 487-489, and in Summers, pp. 699-702.

inquiring reader is referred. His article traces also the later history of the dispute between North Carolina and Virginia, of that between Tennessee and Virginia, and of that between Tennessee and Kentucky, all of which had to do with the line surveyed by Thomas Walker and Daniel Smith.

Garrett's account of the dispute between the respective commissioners is based on the report made by Walker and Smith to the House of Delegates of Virginia, which is printed in Hening's *Statutes*. This report when compared with Daniel Smith's *Journal* is found to derive much from the latter, though as a document to be presented to a legislative body, it is, of course, much more elaborately phrased. But Henderson and his fellow commissioners also made a report to the Governor of North Carolina, which, within the last few years, has been printed in the *State Records of North Carolina*.<sup>19</sup> As this North Carolina report does not appear to have been used by Garrett, or by any other writer on the subject, and as it is briefer than the Virginia report, it will be reprinted as an extended note to the *Journal*.<sup>20</sup> The statement of the North Carolina commissioners differs widely, both in tone and in substance, from that of the Virginians. Remembering Henderson's personal interest in western lands, and observing the support given to the Virginia report by the contemporary private *Journal* of Daniel Smith, one is inclined to accept the report of Walker and Smith as the more trustworthy statement of the facts.

Daniel Smith, the writer of the *Journal*, was born in Stafford County, Virginia, October 24, 1748, was educated at William and Mary College, and, like Washington, became a surveyor. He soon identified himself with the western settlements of Virginia, and in 1773 was appointed deputy surveyor of Augusta County. The outbreak of Lord Dunmore's War found him, together with Colonel William Preston, actively engaged in the preparation for the defense of the frontier. In 1774 he prepared a map of the headwaters of the tributaries of the Tennessee River, or, as it was then called, the Holston, which is of great service in locating the creeks and rivers of the border land between southwest Virginia and northeast Tennessee.<sup>21</sup>

19. S. R. N. C., Vol. 14, pp. 353-355.

20. Below, p. 48.

21. A reproduction of this map is in *Dunmore's War* facing p. 30. In this volume, also, are reprinted many letters of Daniel Smith written in 1774. Daniel Smith for many years continued to make surveys and to plot maps. The "Map of the Tennessee Government," in Imlay, G. *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, bearing date of 1795, has the legend "taken chiefly from surveys by Genel. D. Smith & Others."

Passing over the period immediately covered by the *Journal* we may remind the reader of the distinguished services of Daniel Smith in after years. In 1780 his fellow commissioner, Doctor Walker, heartily recommended him to the governor of Virginia for appointment, instead of Walker himself, as commissioner to settle and liquidate claims in the west.<sup>22</sup> Within a few years Daniel Smith removed to the Cumberland region, with which he was thenceforth definitely associated. In 1788 he was appointed Brigadier-General of Mero District, and after filling several offices or positions of trust, in 1790 he received the important appointment of Secretary of the Territory South of the Ohio. Much of his correspondence of this period, with Governor Blount, and with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of State, has been preserved. In 1794 he built "Rock Castle," a notable dwelling, which still exists in the possession of his descendants. In 1796 he served as a member of the constitutional convention of Tennessee. In 1798 and again in 1805 he was a Senator of the United States from Tennessee. He died in 1818. A few years prior to his death the French traveler, Michaux, visited Rock Castle and left an interesting account of the venerable pioneer as he was in his comfortable old age.<sup>23</sup>

From the standpoint of subject matter, the *Journal* is valuable, first, for the light it throws upon the topography of the Tennessee-Cumberland region in 1779-1780. In the notes, the editor has made no effort to identify all the places mentioned, but has been content to select those of most importance for the understanding of the route and for the chronology of the commissioners' journey. The student of local history, however, will be interested in the further identification of the places named by Daniel Smith.

In Smith's *Journal* and in the report of Walker and Smith to the Virginia Assembly references are made to a map drawn to show the boundary line and the river courses as explored and surveyed by the Commissioners. In the Draper Mss. what is evidently a portion of a draft or copy of this map has been preserved, and it has been attempted to reproduce this by photostat process to accompany the *Journal*. Unfortunately it has not proved possible to reproduce the lettering with distinctness; and only a portion of the line,—from Blackwater Creek to the "Barrens",—is

22. Palmer, Wm. P., ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 2, pp. 298-299.

23. Cf. Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, Vol. 3, pp. 255-256; *Dunmore's War*, *passim*, and especially pp. 3-4, note. In the *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. 6, (1901), pp. 213 ff., will be found some interesting *Papers of Gen. Daniel Smith* preceded by a biographical sketch from which have been taken some of the facts given above.

shown. This, however, is an important part, as it shows something of both the first and second sections of the line surveyed.

Furthermore the *Journal* gives a vivid picture of the hardships that confronted the pioneer surveyors of the "western waters." Cold, hunger, Indians,—all these were added to the natural difficulties of the wilderness. From a political standpoint the latter part of the *Journal* puts the reader in touch with the statesmanship of Virginia in the reaching out of that state for control of the Mississippi Valley. Finally, as has been indicated above, the work of Smith, together with his colleague Walker, was one of lasting importance in the determination of the territorial limits of four of the American commonwealths.

The original manuscripts of Daniel Smith's *Journal* and *Map* are among the Draper Manuscripts in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, which has kindly consented to the printing of the *Journal* and to the reproduction of the *Map* by the TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The manuscript of the *Journal* is numbered 46 J 18. The following description is given by Miss Nunns, Assistant Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, to whom we are indebted for the careful collation of our press copy with the original: "The document consists of nineteen (19) very closely written pages 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ . The writing is in ink, a good hand, and aside from the first page the edges of the leaves are not greatly worn. Doctor Draper had put this diary in board covers, giving it title, and the manuscript itself does not give name of author. Doctor Draper added a five-page table of contents."<sup>24</sup>

The map is no. 7ZZ51 of the Draper Mss. The size is 8.25x28 inches. Miss Nunns informs us that the map does not bear the name of General Daniel Smith, but that the handwriting of the lettering on the map and that of the *Journal* is apparently the same. On the reverse is the endorsement, "Plan of the Line betw [torn] Virginia & North Carolina [torn] with Cumberland River [torn]."

Finally, for the possibility of thus publishing the *Journal* of Daniel Smith, we wish on behalf of the Tennessee Historical Society and the MAGAZINE to express our obligation to Miss Sarah Crosby Berry, of Hazel Path, Hendersonville, Tennessee, a descendant of General Smith, who has kindly put at our disposal her transcript of the *Journal* made for her own use, and has in other ways facilitated the present publication.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

24. Letter to the editor, Madison, Wis., March, 1915.



*Journal of General Daniel Smith, Aug. 1779, to July, 1780,  
Running Line Between North Carolina and Virginia—  
Tennessee and Kentucky.*<sup>25</sup>

Saturday Aug. 14th 1779. Having for a few days been making ready to go out with the Commissioners of the Line between this [state] and North Carolina as a Surveyor of the same according to my former agreement with Dor. Walker, this day I sat off and reach'd the Elk-Garden.<sup>26</sup>

Sunday 15th. Got to Capt. Dysarts where I met with Dor. Walker who acquainted me that I was appointed a Commissioner in the Room of Mr. Jas. Madison.<sup>27</sup>

Monday 16th. got my Ball & Socket mended at Andw. Kinkennon's.

Tuesday 17th. went to Court, and lodged at Mr. Willoughby's.

Wednesday 18th. Went to John Keys's on the Laurel Fork,<sup>28</sup> being the nearest house to our place of beginning that we knew of.

Thursday 19th. Rain last night, and to day—rais'd the River so that we could not travel till M.

Monday 23rd. moved to a Camp on Col. Donelson's Line<sup>29</sup> about 7 miles west of the white topp'd mountain.<sup>30</sup>

Tuesday 24th. Having from some accounts of late together with Col. Fry's and Jefferson's map of the line, got an opinion that Col. Donelson did not begin where Fry & Jefferson left off to day I went towards Donelson's beginning to endeavor to trace up the old line taking with me Jas. Michie one of the Surveyors. When I got within about a mile of the same found the old line and began to trace it up. lay in the Mountain which divides New River waters from Holston.

Wednesday 25th. got back to camp.

Thursday 26th. this morning the distance Col. Donelson's line was south of the old one was measured along a line making a right angle with the old one—52 poles. The course of the old line by Compass not allowing for Variation was N 88° 30' W. the distance was measured along a course S 1° 30' W. This day we moved to Tooley's river and encamp'd just above the little flag meadow, south of the line about a mile.

Friday 27th. moved to a Waste Cabin on Steep Rock Cr.<sup>31</sup> about

25. Title affixed to the Ms. by Dr. Lyman C. Draper. The original document is characterized by a frequent use of superior letters, especially in the abbreviations. In the printed text these superior letters have been made uniform with the rest.

26. In 1774 Daniel Smith was living upon Indian Creek, an affluent of Maiden Spring fork of Clinch River. *Dunmore's War*, page 30, note, and map. The *Journal* does not state from which point Smith started in 1779, but the reference to the Elk Garden, which appears on Smith's map of 1774 only a few miles from Indian Creek, makes it very probable that his residence was the same as in 1774. The Elk Garden was a fort on Cedar Creek which flows into the Clinch.

27. Probably the James Madison who was later bishop. He was a cousin of the statesman and president.

28. A branch of the south fork of the Holston.

29. Above, p. 42.

30. At the southeast of the present Washington County, Va., Haywood, p. 54, says: "Early in 1772 the Colony of Virginia held a treaty with the Cherokees, and agreed upon a boundary between them to run west from the White Top Mountain in latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes." For this treaty we have found no contemporary evidence.

31. The creek to which Fry and Jefferson had carried the line.

three quarters of a mile North of the place where the line would strike out.

Saturday 28th. This morning Mr. Michie came to camp with out ever having seen the line since he parted from us yesterday altho' he had carefully continued the same course.

Sunday 29th. a Number of us went and searched about the creek near the place Mr. Michie struck it for the line and could not find it, altho the place seemed by the Indian Camp &c. to be the place where the old line struck it.

Monday 30th. this evening went to the top of a mountain, eastward to adjust the Quadrant and take the Variation of the needle—it look'd likely for rain, and I came back to camp. Rain all night.

Tuesday 31st. lay still waiting for the Carolina Commissioners.

Wednesday 1st. Sept. This morning Major Wm. Bailey Smith a Commissioner from Carolina came to our Camp. and this evening Col. John Williams and Col. Richard Henderson the other Commissioners joined.

Thursday 2d. Sept. Proposed to the Carolina Gent. to go back to where we knew the old line was and trace it up. They said they would give us an answer next morning.

Friday 3d. They told us that as to keep in Latitude  $36^{\circ} 30''$  (*sic*) was the main object, thought it better to go and search for the line, there take the Latitude if we found it, if right to run the west line at that place, if we could not find it, it would be best to go to some mountain proper for Observation and by that run from the place of observation North or South till we were right, this was agreed to.

Saturday 4th. Went to the Top of a Mountain south westerly from our camp about 6 miles.

Sunday 5th. Observed by my instrument the Sun's meridian altitude to be  $60^{\circ} 14'$  after making the proper deduction &c. for refraction, Declination &c. the latitude we were in was  $36^{\circ} 31' 25''$ .

Monday 6th. To day the Sun's Meridian altitude was by my Instrument  $59^{\circ} 52'$ , which made the latitude exactly the same with yesterday their Instrument likewise agreed with ours, therefore we were agreed we were  $1^{\circ} 25''$  north of the line which when we reduced into superficial measure we made 1 mile 201 poles and an half. we agreed that we were here in longitude  $81^{\circ} 12'$  West of London. That Cape Henry was  $75^{\circ} 27' 20''$  West of London. that Curratuck Inlet was  $75^{\circ} 30'$  West of London. That in superficial measure we were at steep rock creek 329 miles west of Curratuck Inlet, we made an abatement for mountainous grounds and uneven measure of 12 miles to this place or that we were 317 miles west of curratuck Inlet. and settled the difference of longitude between Curratuck Inlet and this place to be  $5^{\circ} 42'$  a degree of longitude in this Latitude  $48.23$  Ge: miles or of Statute miles 55 & 1083 Yards.<sup>32</sup>

This evening by a magnetic line  $52^{\circ} 30'$  E. the above distance of 1 mile and 201 1-2 poles was measured.

Tuesday 7th. 14 poles more than the 1 mile & 201 1-2 po. was measured on the South line from that place we began the marked line by running N  $88^{\circ}$  E on their Compass to steep rock cr. 2 po. thence from the place we first began to measure on their Compass S  $88^{\circ}$  W [blank in Ms.] po. to the top of a spur. here Col. Henderson and my Self went to them having settled the Bar: at 3 degrees East on my Compass & 2 1-2° on theirs. and directed the surveyors to make this allowance. Vid. plat of Steep Rock Cr. for the place of Begg.<sup>33</sup>

32. These sentences are substantially repeated in the Virginia Commissioners' report. Above, p. 44, note 17.

33. This may refer to some special plat, but more probably this and a later reference to a "plat" are to be considered as referring to the map.



Wednesday 8th. The Latitude being settled, and the Surveyors set properly to [work] it was thought I might go home for a few days without Injury to the Service, and I accordingly sat off. Lay this night at Mr. Logans—lost my Horse, but got home on Thursday on a Borrowed one which I returned on Saturday. Stay'd at Home till

Monday 13th. Sat off in the rain, lay at T. Price's. Tuesday 14th. North fork H[igh] but got across it and lay at Mr. Finleys, Wednesday 15th. got to the Surveyors about one o'clock where I was informed the Carolina Gentlemen had conceived an Opinion we were too far to the south of the true L[at]. Much Cloudy weather this week. After many Observations, we concluded we were right, and I sat off Wednesday 22d. for the Island<sup>34</sup> where I had reason to believe Dor. Walker was waiting with as much impatience with a Party of the Cherokee Indians as I had been the last week. Lay at Cornelius Carmacks. Thursday 23d. lay at Col. Shelys who promised to go to the Island with me next day. 24th Sept. Friday. Got to the Island. Met with Capt. Masten in my Way there at Major Bledsoe's<sup>35</sup>—At the Island Dor. Walker informed me that this day he & Major W. Smith had given the Indians the following Talk. [Blank page in Ms.]

Saturday Sept. 25th. The Old Tassel<sup>36</sup> replied as follows:

Now I am come to the place appointed by my beloved Man to listen to the Talks of the beloved Men of Virginia—Here are both the Commiss. I speak to (meaning the Commiss. of both States) now we are on the beloved seats you shall hear what I have to say. These are the beloved seats where we've held the good Talks and saved the lives of so many of our people on both sides. tis now three Days (meaning years) since these good Talks were first held. When we first came from Chota<sup>37</sup> the way was very dark and troublesome but it was lies and bad people that occasioned it to be so, and caused trouble between us like wading thro' blood it was when I open'd the Way, and the Doors of Peace and brightned the Chain of friendship between us and our elder brothers. I am the man that open'd the Doors of Peace when they were fast shut that caused the light to shine from each one to the other, and ours and our elder brothers people to remain in peace. I've only been talking of the Peace between us and our friend and elder brother that sits here (meaning Col. Shely)<sup>38</sup> who was one of the appointed Commissioners at that time, as they both must remember well that everything which passed before that being bad was thrown away not to be brought into remembrance any more, insomuch that where the dead men lay they were buried so deep that large trees had grown out of their graves—That the beloved Man of Virginia and him of Chota talked together, stretch'd the chain of friendship from Virga. to Chota, and appointed Commissioners that if any rust should get thereon, they and the beloved men from Chota might brighten it so that as their children came to any knowledge of things it might be a guide

34. The Long Island of Holston, famous as the place for "Peace-talks" with the Cherokees.

35. Anthony Bledsoe, 1733-1788, in 1771-1778 a member of the Virginia Assembly. He settled at Bledsoe's Lick upon the Cumberland in 1784. See below.

36. The Old Tassel, or Aayetaeh, of Toquoe, was one of the signers, on the part of the Overhill Cherokees, of the treaty known as Avery's Treaty, made at the Long Island of Holston, July 20, 1777. An account of his speeches during the negotiation of that treaty is in Haywood, pp. 505-512. Numerous references to him appear in the *North Carolina State Records*. See Index, Vol. 29, p. 237, s. v. "Old Tassel." During the troubles connected with the State of Franklin the Old Tassel was killed under circumstances of great cruelty. This was in 1788. *S. R. N. C.*, Vol. 22, pp. 695-696. Haywood, pp. 195-196.

37. A "city of refuge" of the Cherokees on Tellico River five miles above old Fort Loudon, Ramsey, J. G. M., *Annals of Tennessee* (1853), p. 85.

38. Evan Shelby, 1750-1826. The reference here and again below is to the Treaty of Holston, in 1776, above, p.

to them and had in remembrance for ages yet to come. and as for my own part I will always be assisting in keeping this chain bright. I speak to the Commissioners of both States—I often times talk from home that the Governor of N. C. may hear me, but I believe what I say never reaches his Ears. I as often speak to the Gov. of Virginia who I believe hears, and I hope both will hear what I've now said

A String to the Com: of both States.

You spake to me yesterday concerning the dividing Line between you which you left me to consider on till to day. I do not know how far you mean to extend it. My hunting grounds and my Lands reaches to Cumberland river—You have your livings at your Doors, tis not the Case with me, I am obliged to slave hard and go a great way to get a support for myself and children, my hunting grounds extends to the Cumberland River, quite to the mouth of it on the south side, which is but a little place to support so great a number of people as are in my nation. I mention my people as I expect some of them are on their way for Cumberland there to make their Hunt, I am uneasy to get home to prevent any more from going, for if the line is extended thro' that Country you must fall in with some of them—moreover if it should pass thro' there and cut off any part of our huntg grounds 'twill make me begin to think of what I was told some years ago by the Kings people i. e. if our elder brothers here overcome them, they would at last take all our hunting grounds and bring us to nothing. But I hope this will not be the case, and that our elder brothers will have more compassion for us. Last Spring Hanging Man was sent by the great Warrior of Chota and talk'd with Col. Shelby and Major Martin concerning goods, which I understand by what he told me on his return they would use their best endeavours to supply us with—now you see the necessity we are in, you see we are almost naked, and 'tis only by holding our elder brother by the hand. We hope you will consider us and try to send us a supply as soon as Possible. I speak this to both States. Our concerns with N. C. has always been respecting Lands, we have never seen any supplies from them yet, but I hope the concerns of Lands will soon be at an end, then we expect they will consider us and send us some Cloathing as well as the other States—They by their Commissioners, moved the beloved seats from over the river to this place, here they kindled the beloved fire, and reserved the wood, the grass and the earth of this Island for our purpose, to hold good talks upon with our elder brothers, now I hear there is some man lays claim to it, altho the beloved men of the two States have reserved it for us. I speak to the Com. of both States 'tis 3 days since we held the good talks at this Place, and then with the Comm: of N. C. we fixed a boundary between us and their people which was to begin on this river where the Virga. line did and run thence by the Chimney Top to the mouth of Camp Cr. on Nonachucka. Mr. English is settled over that line on a good place which we are not much offended at as we believe him to be a good man, but a great many others are settled far beyond him which must of course know they are over the line. Car: has gained a great deal of ground of us for which we have never recd. any satisfaction no not even so much as trade. The great men in Car: seem to hold everything very fast in their hands, they are always getting what they can, and lets nothing go, neither guns goods nor ammunition.

A String to both Commissioners.

Sunday 26th. Col. Henderson made a speech which they did not seem to like very well.

Monday 27th. Sept. We Spake to them as follows:

Brothers, Chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation.

We are very glad to meet you our brothers and friends at this place

where we before have had so many good talks to smoke the pipe of peace together and keep that chain of friendship clear from every speck of rust which we ourselves and we hope our children for ages yet to come shall feel the good effects of.

But it gives us some concern to find that our Intention in the running the dividing line should be look'd upon by you as a matter that will be to your prejudice, as we have no intention of doing any thing with you our brothers but what will have a tendency to brighten the great chain of friendship which we have fast hold of much less to do any thing which is a real injury to you. As we did not conceive that this line would be anywise prejudicial to you so our only reason for acquainting you therewith was lest reports by evil minded persons should be carried to you misrepresenting the matter as the best intentions have sometimes been so construed. Now brothers we beg of you to listen well to what we are going to say. You told us the other day that our living was at our doors, but you had far to go and slave hard to support your people, we would recommend it to you to live as we do and only hunt for meat and skins to make your moccasins, raise corn and Cattle horses and hogs and sell them to cloath your wives and Children which you will find much surer and easier than your present manner of life.

We are sorry to see and hear your people are so naked, the great men of Virga. ordered Clothes for you from the Illenois which we expected would soon be here but we are told the people of Chickamogga and Chickasaws will not let them come up this river, therefore we shall write to the great men by Your Shelby and your brother martin<sup>39</sup> will speak to them to send you goods from Virga. we are sorry the goods are not here to give you some clothes to return to your towns with but the fault is in your enemies therefore hope you will not blame us as we are not in fault.

You told us you hoped Virga. would not take away your Land, we can Assure you Virga. will not take any Land that you have a right to. Your beloved Island on which we now stand Virga. had secured to you by law if it fallen in that State and we make no doubt as it falls into Carolina but the great men there will reserve it for you. Hold fast the chain of friendship with Virga. and the Virginians will never let it slip out of their hands. The people over the water we believe will soon make peace with us and then we shall be able to give you a plentiful trade.

As a Token &c. we give you this String of Wampum.

Tuesday 28th Sept. moved to the Camp at the millstone Quarry about 200 Yds. in Virg.

Wednesday 29th. took Latitude we believe the line is about half a mile too far North. corroborated by another Observ.

Thursday 30th. lay still waiting for the Car:<sup>40</sup> who were not ready with their Provisions.

Friday 1st Oct. Rain—but sat off in it to go to the Carolinians, only got to the Surveyors Camp on the S. E. side of the north fork of Holston.

Saturday 2d. Octr. Being conscious from what information we had obtained that a Sufficient Guard could not be had on the Virga. Side, for the pay allowd by Law, because the Carolinians gave at least seventimes as much Pay, and being further informed that if we would make a requisition of men from the Caro: Com: they would furnish them, and put them under the Virga. Commander only leaving the matter to the two Assemblies to settle, this day we made the demands of fifty men on the Said Terms. moved down Carters Valley<sup>41</sup> and encamp'd about 2 m. east of a fort.

39. Joseph Martin, Indian Agent of Virginia.

40. Carolinians.

41. North of the Holston and west of the north fork of that river.



Sunday 3d Oct. lay still. Monday 4th. Do.

By Observations at this Camp made till Sunday 10th. it was made out by Mr. Burton and Mr. Guthrie<sup>42</sup> we were 2' 10" too far south, and Monday 11th. we began to measure off the distance on a north Course. we had also observ'd that the Var: was lessend which possibly might have caused the error. Tuesday 12th. Rain—lay all night on a branch of Possum Cr.—Wednesday 13th. began to run back the East Course in company with Col. Williams while Dor. Walker and Col. Henderson run on West.—lay on a spring branch 2 miles & about a Quarter East of the termination of the N. line.

Thursday 14th. got to where the Kentucky Waggon Road<sup>43</sup> cross'd the North fork of Holston, did not find the Surveyor to night.

Friday 15th. Went to the Block House—The Surveyor came there about 1<sup>o</sup>. Clock, then went to a branch about 1 1-2 miles eastwardly from Block House & lay all night.

Saturday 16th. While the Line kept on took the Latitude on a Knob about 1-4 m. south of the Line. The Double alt. of Sun 89° 0' 30". got to Abm. Bledsoes.<sup>44</sup>

Sunday 17th. Observ'd again at Abm. Bledsoes. here we were in Lat. 36° 31' 40" N.

Monday 18th. Observed in Robts. mill pond dble. Alt. 87° 36'. Major Smiths was 87° 42'. This Place is 600 or 700 Yds. in Carolina by the first line and my observation nearly proved the sd. line right.

19th. on a knob about 1-4 mile South of the new line observ'd again dble Alt. 86° 46'. Major Smith's 87° 12'.

20th. in a Plantation about 1-4 mile North of the line observ'd again dble Alt. 86° 3' 30". Major Smiths 86° 14". Went to Major Bledsoe's.

21st. took the Lat. here Dble alt. 85° 23'.

22d. Measured the Distance the two lines were apart. it was 838 po.

23d. Rain all day. lay still.

24th. took the Lat. again—Dble. Alt. 83° 17'. here I was about 1-2 mile North of the first Line. All these Observations made out that the new line was wrong and that the old one was nearly right. And I came to this Conclusion, that either I did not see as others usually do, or that the first

42. The North Carolina surveyors. Here arose the dispute as to the latitude. In their report to the Virginia Assembly, Walker and Smith said: "After running the line as far as Carter's Valley 45 miles west of Steep Rock Creek the Carolina gentleman conceived the line was farther south than it ought to be, and on trial, it was found that the variation of the needle had altered a little, which must have happened very lately, and was owing, we believe, to our being just then near some iron ore; because on observing the sun's meridian altitude the line was not too far south. As the Carolina gentlemen, by their observations, made out other ways, they proposed that the surveyors, on each side, should observe and fix the latitude. This was agreed to by one of us, influenced by a knowledge of a small change of the variation, and was not dissented to by the other, as most of the observations on the part of Virginia had been made by him. But quite contrary to our expectations, they agreed we were more than two miles too far south of the proper latitude, which distance was measured off directly north, and the line ran eastward from that place superintended by two of the Carolina gentlemen, and one of us, while from the same place it was continued westwardly, superintended by the others for the sake of expediting the business. The instruments proper for ascertaining the latitude were mostly taken back on the eastern part of the line, in order that those who superintended it, might be farther satisfied; but after going back more than twenty miles, and observing every day on this line, his judgment was unalterably fixed that this line was wrong, although the Carolina gentlemen could not seem to be of this opinion, and he returned and overtook his colleague on the western part of the line on Black Water Creek or thereabouts, to whom he imparted his sentiments, proposing that he also should observe for some days—which he did. The result was that we concluded our first line was right, and we brought it up accordingly from Carter's Valley, where it had been left, and continued on with it to the westward.

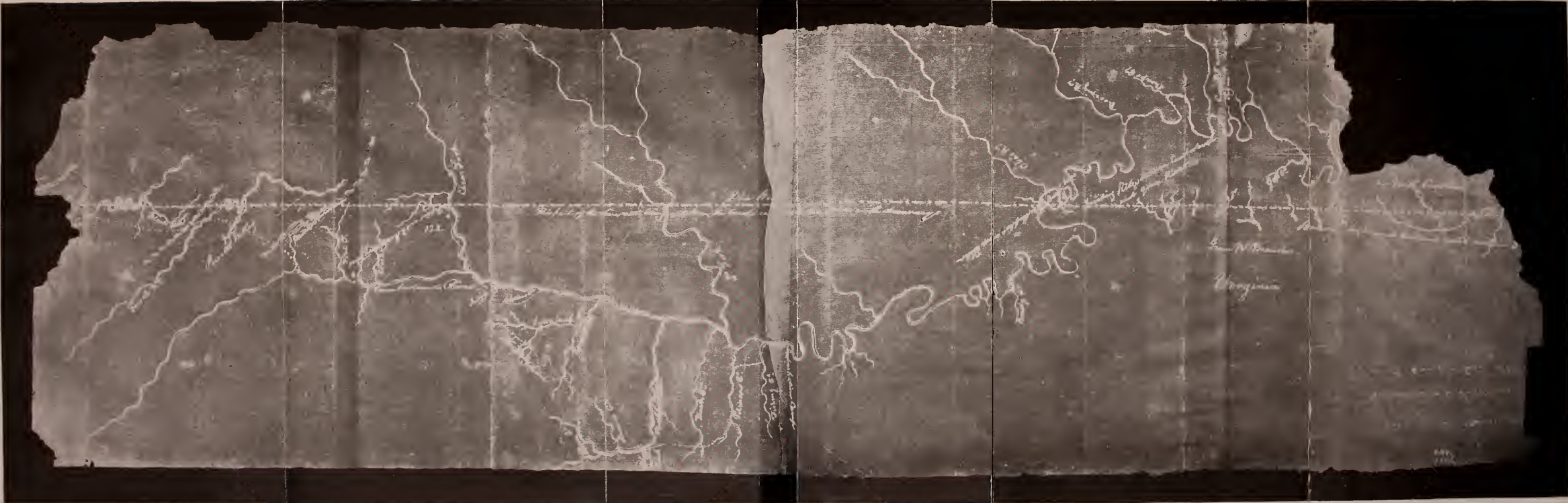
43. For a careful study of the Kentucky or "Wilderness" Road, the "traces" which preceded it, and the topography of this region, see Verhoeff, M., *The Kentucky Mountains*, Vol. 1, chapters 2, 3 (Filson Club Publication, No. 26, 1911).

44. Brother of Anthony.









NOTE:—The map is drawn from the view point of Virginia, and with the intention to show the westward course of the Cumberland River and the boundary line from the left to the right. Consequently the top points towards the South instead of the North, and North Carolina appears above Virginia.

As suggested in the introduction, this is but a portion of the map to which Smith refers. The first part, showing the line from Steep Rock Creek to the Clinch, is missing, as is also the part which would show the course from the "Barrens" westward to the Cumberland and the Tennessee. Most of the creeks and branches laid down on the map as emptying into the Cumberland are mentioned in the text of the *Journal*. The map also indicates part of the "Kentucky Trace".

"Plan of the Line betw[een] Virginia and North Carolina [—] with Cumberland River [—]"

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line was right. I found there was no dependence to be placed in Major Smith's Observations, who as will appear above frequently made us from 4 to 8 or 9 miles off the Line. I resolved therefore to go back to Mr. Walker let him take the Lat. If his Observ. made the new line right, I would be convinced I did not see like other people. If on the Contrary they should agree with mine I would be for correcting the line. Got this night to Abm. Bledsoes.

Mond. 25th. Went by Col. Henderson's Camp in Carters Valley, delivered him his Quadrant which had been entrusted to my Care, and which I had forgot to mention, I had discovered at Major Bledsoes to make the Sun's Alt. less than ours, told him I could not make an observation to prove the last line right, on the Contrary, they always proved the first to be so. This he said he was surprised at. Lay at John Loonys.

Tuesday 26th. Overtook Dor. Walker on the North fork of Clinch, told him my Sentiments.

Wednesday 27th. Dor. Walker took the Lat. we were 50 scants [seconds?] in Virga. altho' considerably south of the Line. lost Horses, could not travel till

Thursday 28th. got to a Lick on Black Water.

Friday 29th. Saturday 30th [30th] and Sunday 31st. all these days Dor. Walker observd and his observations made us at the least 42 seconds in Virga. this was the lowest observ the highest 1' 20" altho near a mile south of the line. wrote to Col. Henderson who had not yet joined us that we were satisfied the first line was right and that if his observ. had been the same with ours to have it brought up.

Monday 1st Novem. this afternoon Col. Henderson came to us.

Tuesday 2d. Dor. Walker & Col. Henderson went to the top of the Knob—and observed.

Wednesday 3d Nov. Dor. Walker observed with their Instrument on the line which he made 4 miles too far north.

Thursday 4th. Sent off Mr. Michie to bring up the first line.

Mr. Burton observed with their Instrument and nearly agreed with Dor. Walker.

Friday 5th. Mr. Burton & Mr. Guthrie observed as they did in Carters Valley, look'd at Mr. Gs Instrument, and found what I suspected that the reflection sun was too low. began to measure off the Distance southwardly to keep on the line.

Saturday 6th. finished measuring the line to the South, and started Capt. Burton from the 69 mile tree agreed to meet him near Cum: Gap.<sup>45</sup> then cross'd Powells mount<sup>46</sup> went by our Camp and lay at the Car.

45. Cumberland Gap.

46. Powell's Mountain and Powell's River, the ridge and the tributary of the Clinch just east of Cumberland Mountain.

It seems proper here to introduce the letter written to Governor Caswell, of North Carolina, by Henderson and the other North Carolina Commissioners, to which reference was made in the introduction. It will be noted that Henderson states that the two Commissions were agreed until they reached Powell's Mountain, sixty-seven miles from the beginning, whereas Smith and Walker refer the disagreement to Carter's Valley, forty-five miles from the start. The letter is found in the State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 353-355, and is as follows:

CUMBERLAND GAP, 17th November, 1779.

SIR:

The great expense of preparations for Extending the boundary line between this State and the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the trouble we have been obliged to give your Excellency on that occasion, might have induced a reasonable hope that the business by this time was nearly compleated. It would afford us great pleasure if that was the case. So far has our attempt failed of success that we are doubtful very little, if any, benefit will be derived to our State from the attempt of the Commissioners to perform the duty enjoined by the General Assembly. We met the Gentn. appointed from Virginia and began the extension to the Westward on the Seventh of September, and after many inevitable delays for various reasons, we, on the first of November, had carried it on Sixty-seven miles and some Chains, by



Sunday 7th. Went back to our Camp on bus.<sup>47</sup> returned & lay on Powells River.

Monday 8th. Col. Henderson proposed sending his Brothers or Capt. Hardin Co. we told him any that would do the duty we would be satisfied with lay about 3 miles west of Martins.

Tuesday 9th. Got to a branch about 2 miles E. of Cum: Gap.

Wednesday—Made us a large Sextant to observe with.

Thursday 11th. lay still. Surveyors not come yet. Capt. Hardin's Company Joind us.

Friday 12th. Mr. Michie came to us. Our observ. at this place were that we were 2 miles in Virga. Capt. Burton came to us this evening.

Saturday 13th. Got Mr. Anderson to act as surveyor, moved over Cum. mount. lay on flat Cr.

the unanimous consent of the Commissioners, which brought us to the foot of Powell's Mountain, when the gentlemen from Virginia alleged that the line was, by their observation, too far North; that the Error was from the beginning, and that they would not agree to report it as a boundary. On our part we could not agree to an alteration to the South, when by repeated tryal we were fully persuaded the line was right, excepting a few seconds to the North. Under these circumstances their proposal of moving two miles and ten seconds to the south was inadmissible.

With this state of the case, Your Excellency would naturally suppose all proceedings would stop till the difference in opinion could, by some means, be reconciled. The Gentlemen on the other side observed a different line of conduct, without an offer of that kind. They informed us that they could not agree to report the line as it stood, and would make an offset of the distance Mentioned, and Mark a line at that distance from the one Extended, as well back as forward, and leave the matter to be decided thereafter by artists from both states. Remonstrances against such a proceeding were ineffectual; they immediately proceeded, and went on with their line to the East and West at the same time by different Surveyors. As the Land Office for each State was open as far as Cumberland Mountain, we ventured to extend the line due West from the End of that run by unanimous consent to this place, as it was not far and could be done without much Accumulation of Expence, and not without some hope of reconciling the difference of opinion. With respect to an accommodation we were greatly deceived; the Commissioners were Resolved to go on without regard to our opinion or protest against the measure, and we hope to be excused by the General Assembly for continuing the Guard, &c., a few days in extending the line to the top of this Mountain, making in the whole a line of One Hundred Miles in length, Sixty-seven of which was, as before observed, done by the entire consent and approbation of Doctor Thomas Walker and Major Daniel Smith, the Virginia Commissioners.

When all hopes of agreeing as to the true latitude were lost, and the partial line run by those Gentlemen carried on, with an express declaration of persisting in the measure, we thought ourselves bound to dismiss the Escort, stop our proceeding and report the case to the General Assembly. We wish to add, on this subject, that we have the utmost confidence that the line run by us is as nearly in the latitude of Thirty-six Degrees and Twenty [sic] minutes North as 'tis possible to place it with the Instruments in our possession, and that we have procured the best in our power; we have also at times had access to the Quadrant made use of by the Virginians, by which, as well as ours, we are confirmed in the opinion. The difference of Two Minutes and Ten seconds of Latitude in making observations with the same Instruments cannot be accounted for; but the fact is so, and we have only to lament being concerned in this business. We accept this without . . . the service expected. The very great expence of this effort would have made us yield to anything but a surrender of our integrity, to have established a boundary, and of course prevented the necessity of sending others to perform what we have failed to do. As we are about to separate, perhaps not to meet again till next spring or summer, thought it advisable to join in a report to your Excellency of this abortive undertaking. We shall, at all times, separated or together, be willing and ready to give any further or other information, as to the particulars of our transaction, and furnish a Draught of our Line.

We, Sir, are, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most Obedt. and very Hbl. Servts,

RICH'D HENDERSON,  
JOHN WILLIAMS,  
WILLIAM BAILEY SMITH.

His Excellency Richard Caswell, Esqr., &c.

P. S. Herewith you'll receive sundry Copies of Letters, a letter from the Virginia Commissioners, as to their requisition for fifty men, all of which your Excellency will please lay before the Gen. Assembly.

47. Business (?).

Sunday 14th. Lay still. Sent Capt. Bledsoe<sup>48</sup> to explore the Country.

Monday 15th. Lat. 36° 32' 50" N. Capt. Bledsoe return'd. from his account concluded it best to go along the Kentucky road. march'd about 4 miles lay on flat Cr. Capt. Anderson came to us in the night. not having met with the Escort sent him in consequence of some Hunters having fallen in with and killed some Indians.

Tuesday 16th. While we were on our march received an extraordinary Letter from the N. Carolina Commissioners, withdrawing Capt. Hardin's Company from our Service and discharging him—lay in the south edge of the bottom just below the ford of the Cumberland.

Wednesday 17th. Nov. Lay here till after 12. Took Lat. which was 36° 41' 58"—march'd on to a small Cr. about S. W.

Thursday 18th. March'd about S. W. 7 or 8 miles along a broken Valley at the foot of Stone mountn. encamp'd on a Cany Cr.

Friday 19th. Held on our Course up to the Cr. & out at the head of it, fell on two other Branches which we kept up and out at their heads, lay on a Cr. that Ran directly into the clear fork about 4 or 5 miles from the mouth thereof.

Saturday 20th. Got to the clear fork<sup>49</sup> and encamp'd on the N. E. bank just below the mouth of a small gut, about a mile above the mouth of the Cr. we came down. a rocky cliff being about 1-4 mile above us (on the other side of the river) which faced to the north.

Sunday 21st. This morning a party of Cherokee Indians and a White Man of the name of Springstone came to us, about 1 or 2 oclock Capt. Anderson and his party all came safe to us.

Monday 22d. Novr. Here a very mutinous spirit began to apear among the Guard owing to our continuing the line thro' such a mountainous desart and we thought it most Prudent to run the line to the Clear Fork, then turn to the North into the Kentucky road and down the North side of Cumberland to the valuable Country and there proceed on with it. We began to pursue this plan the line strikes the clear fork about 1-2 mile above the mouth of the little Cr. in a canebrake on a Poplar & 2 Hackberry trees marked with the initial letters of several names measuring from Steep Rock Cr. 123 3-4 miles<sup>50</sup> this day after quitting the line went by the Indian Camp and got three of them to go along with us, lay on the E. side the river 7 or 8 m. Took the Lat. where the line strikes river tis 36° 30".

48. Isaac Bledsoe, brother of Anthony and Abram, himself well acquainted with western exploration. Haywood, pp. 91 ff.

49. One of the headwaters of the Cumberland.

50. The report of Walker and Smith continues:—"It was once after this proposed by us, and agreed to by the Carolina Gentlemen, that as we differed so much in observation, we would each run his own line, encamp as near together as we could and let future observers, hereafter to be appointed, determine which was right; which might be done at a small expense. But this they afterwards declined, altho' they carried their line as far as Cumberland Mountains protesting against our line—This protest was received in a letter after we had crossed Cumberland Mountain. We continued, however, as far as the clear fork, being 123¾ miles from Steep Rock Creek, marking a poplar and two hackberry trees with initials of our names and with November 22nd, 1779, and had serious thoughts of going no further. But when we considered that, perhaps, three-fourths of the whole expense was already incurred, that a number of people were settling to the westward, who imagined they were in North Carolina, while we thought they were on the lands reserved for our officers and soldiers;—These, and some more of the like considerations, made us think it more conducive to the good of the State in General that we should keep on, than that we should return. But as the season was far advanced, and the country before us, as far as it was known, was very mountainous and barren, not yielding a sufficient quantity of cane for our pack horses, which for some time had been their principal support; these, among other reasons, made us judge it best to leave off running the line here, and go farther to the westward, into a better country, where by reason of many people being about to settle, it might be of importance to run the line speedily."

Tuesday 23d. Cross'd the river travelled about 5 or six miles lay on W. Side.

Wednesday 24th. Kept down river cross'd Cum: below the mo: of clear fork lay in the bottom on N. side. Cloudy & a little rain 5 or 6 miles.

Thursday 25th. Cloudy. travelled across from the river to Indian Cr. then up, the Cr. N Easterly about 6 or 7 m. Snow to night.

Friday 26th. lay still. all day took lat tis  $36^{\circ} 47' 16''$ .

Saturday 27th. Nov. 1779. Removed from Indian Cr. N. E. ward 5 or 6 miles and encamp'd on Lynn Camp Cr. a branch of Laurel River.<sup>51</sup> Cloudy & like for rain to night.

Sunday 28th. Misty and some rain with thick Clouds. to day Capt. Craig's Company were told that in Consequence of what had been promised them heretofore (especially at Clear fork) we now were ready to discharge part of them, or all above 15 Which at length they furnish'd us. rain to night.

Monday 29th. Rainy. lay still. Major Bledsoe was settling his Accounts.

Tuesday 30th. To day Capt. Craig, and sundry of his men, and also the Surgeon left us.—Rainy.

Wednesday 1st. Decr. Cloudy travelled N. E. about 5 miles encamp'd on another branch of Lynn Camp Cr.—

Thursday 2d Decr. Windy and showers of Snow latter part of the day cloudy Billy Camden got lost and lay out all night.

Friday 3d. While I went up to the Kentucky road looking the lost man Mr. Walker took the Lat. of this Camp tis  $36^{\circ} 53'$ . Billy Camden came in. We prepared to make an early start tomorrow morning.

Saturday 4th. Moved into the Kentucky road and along it to Laurel River encamp'd about a mile above the road. Snow to night.

Sunday 5th. Snowing, lay still. Monday 6th. Cloudy, lay Still.

Tuesday 7th. March'd to the first Creek of Rockcastle.<sup>52</sup> Col. Henderson was encamp'd we were told about a half a mile below us.

Wednesday 8th. This morning Col. Henderson paid us a visit. moved near Rock Castle encamp'd on a Cr. which we called Bever Cr.

Thursday 9th. Cross'd Rock Castle & left the Kentucky road, encamp'd on the river about 3-4 mile below where the Kentucky road leaves it. a Hard wind to night.

Friday 10th. lay still. waiting for Major Bledsoe to come up, who had been left where we saw Col. Henderson, looking lost Horses. took the latitude of this Place 'tis  $37^{\circ} 13'$  not sure the Inst. right adjusted. To night Major Bledsoe came up.

Saturday 11th. Travelled about 8 miles, tho perhaps not more than 5 on a right line, our general course about West. lay near the head of a branch of Rock Castle at a small Canebreak. Rain to night.

Sunday 12th. Much rain to day, all day. lay still.

Monday 13th. Cloudy and some showers of snow. After 12 o'Clock the creek not suiting our course from this Camp we travelled along a ridge nearly West. till we came to a branch of Buck Cr.<sup>53</sup> which we kept down till after it Sunk, this evening we fell on a Trace that we suppose led to the french Lick, encamp'd on it. A Cold night. our days march 6 m.

Tuesday 14th. Decr. A Very cold day, but clear. travelled along the Trace N. Westerly about 2 m. to buck Cr. which too high to ford lay at it all day. an excessive cold night.<sup>54</sup>

51. The next tributary of the Cumberland, considerably north of Clear Fork.

52. A still more northern branch of Cumberland River. For an explanation of the name see Haywood, p. 88.

53. A stream west of Rock Castle. Smith's route was now turning toward the west.

54. This winter was long remembered for its extreme cold. Haywood, p. 97.



Wednesday 15th. Cold and Cloudy. Travelled up Buck Cr. about 1 mile on the E. side by which we missed two crossings of the cr: then we cross'd it and travelled along the Trace a little to the Southward of west, cross'd another fork of Buck Cr. at a lick, up a branch and out at the head thereof, then down a branch of Pittman's cr. encamp'd at the first Cane thereon. A little snow tonight. 8m. to day.

Thursday 16th. went down the Cr. by my self about 2 1-2 m. found Pittman's and several other families encamp'd there. went back to camp lay still all day.

Friday 17th. Went down Pittman's cr. cross'd it several times, then at last left it and travelled across to Fishing cr: which we struck about 5 m. above the mouth. lay on a small branch at the mouth. Misty all day. 12 miles to day.

Saturday 18th. lay still, went down cr. to find the river.<sup>55</sup> I did not go far enough, kill'd a buffaloe & return'd. Mr. Michie took Lat. 'tis 36° 58'.

Sunday 19th. march'd down the cr. nearly South about 5m. to the river then about W. S. W. 1 m. down the river, and encamp'd. Lat. of this place on an accurate obser. 36° 54' 42". Dble. Alt. ver. ob. 59° 19'.

Monday 20th. Major Bledsoe went to look for Trees to build Canoes and go down by water in pursuance of a resolution which we took at Laurel River, having return'd and found them. next day Tuesday 21st. we march'd down the river about 5 miles to the Place.

Wednesday 22d. Set about the Canoes, Mr. Michie took Lat. 'tis 36° 51' 31".

Thursday 23d. I took the Lat. Meridian dble alt. 59° 22'. ver. ob: Lat. 36° 53' 31".

Friday 24th. Do. — Do.— 59° 25' rather cloudy 36° 53' 16".

Saturday 25th. Christmas Day. Do. Do. 59° 27'. ver. ob. 36° 53' 16".

Sunday 26th. No work on canoes these days.

Monday 27th. Working on Canoes. Cloudy & misty or little rain.

Tuesday 28th. Do. Do.

Wednesday 29th. Saw the Sun a little tho not enough to take a good observation.

Thursday 30th. Cloudy & a little Snow.

Friday 31st. Clear & cool. Mr. Walker took Lat. ver: ob. dble alt. 60° 3'. Lat. 36.53.58 discours'd a little with Wm. Young who just came from Ky.

Saturday Jany. 1st. 1780. Launched one of the Canoes. Jerry Pearce came over from Prices & lay with us to night. Snow to night.

Sunday 2d. Thro scarcity of meat went down by water a hunting with 2 others. Cloudy & some snow. Killed Turkies at night to live on. lay 4 m. below Station Camp.<sup>56</sup>

Monday 3d. went about 3 miles lower & killed 6 Buffaloes. late before we got them butcher'd, clear & very cold night.

Tuesday 4th. moved up the river with two of our Buffaloes. The ice was so bad coming down the river we could only reach our Sunday nights camp where we lay with Oba. Terrel.

Wednesday 5th. got back to Station Camp. but some how by accident got the britch of my gun broke off.

Thursday 6th. cold to such a degree the river froze over. and continued froze over till Sunday 9th. Jany. 1780 when Major Bledsoe crossed over on it to go to prices. In this Time I fixed up my gun Barr in another Stock & lock.

Thursday 13th. Went down the river a hunting in order that less

<sup>55.</sup> The Cumberland.

<sup>56.</sup> For the name see Haywood, p. 92.

provision might serve at our Station Camp as there was no appearance of a thaw. J. M. & F. W. went with me. lay at Oba's camp.

Friday 14th. lay on the Riv. 9 m. below Station camp to go to the nearest way killed two buffaloes.

Saturday 15th. killed another buffalo. Monday 17th. went alone back to Station Camp. Thursday 20th. returned to J. M. & F. W.

Friday 21st. moved down the river 6 m. lower killed 5 buffaloes.

Thursday 27th. went back to Station Camp. no appearance of a thaw yet. Stay'd here till

Monday 31st. Mr. Sharp went back down the riv. with me.

Monday 7th. Feby. Snow a little last night & to day.

Wednesday the weather had moderated a little.

Thursday 10th Feby. An appearance of a thaw coming on. We went to Station camp. Rain to night a little.

Saturday 12th. Riv. rose much. Sunday 13th. This morning the Ice broke and we launch'd our Canoe.

Monday 14th. launched another Canoe.

Tuesday 15th. launch'd the other and sat off down the river lay about 1 m. above our first encampment. vid. plat of riv.

Wednesday 16th. at 39 m. dist. by water from Canoe Camp passed by the mouth of a large Cr. on the S. Side at 57 m. encamp'd at the foot of a large bottom on N. Side where the riv. runs E. just above the mouth of a small cr. where there was cattle left & Mr. Sharp lay from us.

Thursday 17th. at 72 m. passed by a curious nat. bridge on N. Side. at 76 m. encamp'd on N. Side in a large bottom.

Friday 18th. at the mouth of Brushy Cr. found a note of Capt. Bledsoe's, who had gone along with the horses. the Lat. of this place  $36^{\circ} 42' 46''$  and 91 m. distant at 106 m. pass'd by the mouth of a cr. on N. Side. another note from I. B.<sup>57</sup> at 117 m. another cr. on N. Side with fresh Blazes where we encamp'd.

Saturday 19th. at 132 m. Stopp'd on S. Side and took Lat. which was  $36^{\circ} 34' 51''$ . at 147 m. a cr. on N. Side at 149 m. encamped on N. Side.

Sunday 20th. went up the bottom, supposing we were in Carolina, to the mo. of the last cr. and took Lat. it was  $36^{\circ} 30' 49''$ . Dble. alt.  $85^{\circ} 12'$ . measured some [down?] 298 po. to the supposed Line To day Major Bledsoe went in search of his brother.

Monday 21st. Major Bledsoe return'd with his brother. Rain.

Tuesday 22d. A Wet kind of Snow. all day. Wednesday 23d. Some Snow. hunted this afternoon for Turkeys.

Thursday 24th. Clear & Cold. went to the place of Observation Dble. alt.  $88^{\circ} 9'$ .

Friday 25th. Went again to the place of observation, and as our observations had never varied more than 19 seconds fix'd the line.—to begin at a Beech on the top of the bank. The line crosses the river nearly at right angles (55 S W S. W) bottom on both sides the river. mark'd our name and the date on the two Beeches, and also marked on the Eastern bank an east course from the Beech. Our names on two Maple-like trees and their Initials on a box elder. having done this the Surveyor ran the line West to the top of the first hill. & A creek comes in on the N. W. side about a mile above the line and a smaller one on S E side about 1-2 mile in Carolina.<sup>58</sup>

57. Isaac Bledsoe.

58. The party, after their swing into Kentucky by the Kentucky Road and out by the Cumberland, were now where the Cumberland was cut by the supposed parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes. In their report to the Virginia Assembly, Walker and Smith continue:—"The map will show our route to a place on Cumberland River, where we built canoes to carry our luggage and rest the pack horses, which were too much reduced to do service that way. And here, to add to the number of our difficulties and misfortunes, we were froze up more than forty days in a river

Saturday 26th Feby. To day Mr. Walker sat off with his Party and Canoes to secure provisions &c. while I went with Mr. Michie On the line. We were to meet at the French Lick or in its neighborhood, at least I was to do so with the Quadrant, and Mr. Michie is to run from where I shall leave him to where the line crosses cumberland again. Run 2 m & 240 po. to a cr: running northeasterly, being the cr. at the mouth of which we had taken the Lat: the line keeps near by us the cr. crossing it [blank in Mss.] times at 5 m. 1-4 encamp'd in cr: bottom. about 3-4 m. above a north fork of it.

Sunday 27th. at mid-day to day took Lat. line right. at about 7 1-2 m. the top of the dividing of the waters between cumberland & Green River. Vid. map. line—at 14 3-4 m. encamp'd on a small br. running S. into a Cr. of Green R.<sup>59</sup>

Monday 28th. at 16 m.—6 po. Came to the cr. again, and being entirely without meat and having fasted some time went a hunting—killed two large Bull Buffaloes.

Tuesday 29th. Ran about 6 m. to day. Rain in the Afternoon. Quit the line at 22 m.—a few ch. and went down a branch that ran about N70W. encamped on a cr: at the mo. of sd. branch. rain.

Wednesday 1st march. It did not clear up till near ten o'Clock,—then fair, took Lat. found the line very right. Dble. Alt. 92° 40 at 23 m. 60 po. cross'd cr: we camp'd on, cross'd a steep hill, at 23 m. 104 po. another cr: running near north—cross'd another hill, at 24 m. 34 po. another cr: these creeks we suppose come together and run into the one we came down first. at 27 m. 152 po. left line and went to the north about 1-2 m: and camp'd on a br.

Thursday 2d. March. at 28 m. 60 po. cross'd another cr: running N then across some very briery ridges at 34 m. 40 po. another cr. running to the N. on which we encamp'd.

Friday 3d. at 38 m. 240 po. a cr: on which we encamp'd—Newton's cr: Hunted today but could kill nothing.

Saturday 4th. at 46 m. 212 came to a cr. on which we encamp'd 2 Buffaloes kill'd to day poor.

Sunday 5th. Rain this morning a little, in the afternoon a good deal. lay still.

Monday 6th. Our meat being very lean & it being an unlikely day, Capt. Bledsoe hunted—I staid at Camp in order if fair to take an Observation, which I did tis 36° 30' 15". Dble alt. 96° 30'. As this observ. was good I depend much on it. I discovered also as I thought that too little variation was allowed. Mem: observe to night—'Twas cloudy about 9 o'Clock, and hard rain afterwards till near day but when the Pole Star was in the most western part of his orbit it appeared there was, by taking his bearing, to be full six degrees var.

Tuesday 7th. Run to day magnetically S 84 W. at 50 m. 178 p. crossed a creek running N. W. on which we kill'd a Buff. at 51 3-4 m. got into the edge of the Barrens. at 55 m. 242 po. a large cr. running near N about 10 W. on which we encamp'd Took the Variation to night at Sunset by her amplitude and also by the pole Star when on the meridian. I find it 7° Degrees E.

Wednesday March 8th. at 64 m. 294 po. a Cr. whose gen: course seems never known to be froze before. We went by water from this place until we got into the proper latitude (as we judge one hundred and nine miles west of the Clear Fork) and began the line on two Beech trees marked with our names and Feby. 25, 1780, on the West Bank of Cumberland River, a creek coming in about a mile above us on the west side, and another one somewhat smaller about a mile below us on the East side" Unfortunately, this portion of the map is not included in the copy in the Draper Mss.

59. Probably a branch of Barren River, which runs into Green River. The latter flows through Kentucky, emptying into the Ohio almost opposite Evansville, Indiana.

N. W. tho' just where we cross'd it N. E. on the W. Side of which we encamp'd—Went hunting found the Cumberland Road<sup>60</sup> about 1-2 mile to the West.

Thursday 9th. at 66 m. 14 po. cross'd the Cumberland road running W S W. at 73 m. 231 po. a cr. on which we encamp'd. Took Lat. today. 36° 29' 52". Dble. alt. 98.51.

March 10th. Obligated to stop to hunt. Capt. Bledsoe killed nothing but 2 Deer. took Lat. line very right Dble. Alt. 99° 39' 30".

Saturday 11th. To day I sat off to the French Lick to meet Mr. Walker. Got into the Cumberland road and lay thereon on a small br: of Red River.<sup>61</sup> 25 miles to day.

Sunday 12th. Got to Gaspar's Lick.<sup>62</sup> Snow. Monday 13th. lay still.

Tuesday 14th. Got to the French Lick.<sup>63</sup>

Wednesday 15th. Sat off to meet Mr. Michie. Lat. at Eatons 36° 7".<sup>64</sup> at 30 m. lay on N. side on a high Point—Lost Tomhawk.

Thursday 16th. at 20 1-2 m. pass'd by the mouth of Harpers<sup>65</sup> River in all 32 1-4 m. Ind. town.

Friday 17th. only 11 3-4 m to day. Ind. town.

Saturday 18th. at 11 3-4 took Lat. 36° 21' 22" at 12 3-4 ms. of red river in all 36 m. lay on high bottom just below where [our dog wounded (stricken out in Ms.)] met Shaw to day.

Sunday 19th. at 17 1-2 m. took Lat. 36° 19' 25" at a pond 1 m. above Sharp's cr. at 23 1-4 Island. at 31 m. lay in rich bottom N. side.

Monday 20th. at 9 1-2 met with the Surveyor.<sup>66</sup> line too far South owing to a change of the Variation. met Carvin to day.

Tuesday 21st. Observed again found as yesterday run the off set.

Wednesday 22d. After observing again to day, and finding the line right Sat off for the Tenasa.<sup>67</sup>

Thursday 23d. at about 10 O'Clock joyfully surprized with the sight of the Tenasa 140 m. 1-4 from the Cumberland at our crossing it in Feby. Turnd back and got to the Cumberland that night. These River are but 9 1-4 miles apart, tho so far from their mouths.<sup>68</sup>

Friday 24th. got 5 or 6 m. up the river. Dan. Frazier & Jerry Sears went up by land with the Horses.

Saturday 25th. got to the mouth of Sharpes Cr. Set a Sail today little wind.

60. The road to the French Lick on the Cumberland River.

61. Sulphur Fork, a branch of Red River, takes its rise east of the old Kentucky Road. The Red River empties into the Cumberland much lower down near Clarksville.

62. For Gaspar or Caspar Mansco, and his explorations, see the extensive account in Haywood, pp. 88 ff.

63. The site of Nashville. It is curious that Smith makes no mention of James Robertson and the settlers who accompanied him, some of whom were certainly now at French Lick. For the route taken by the earlier settlers in the Cumberland region see the account in Haywood, pp. 96-97. It is interesting to compare this route and that taken by the company under Donelson with that which was followed by Daniel Smith. Haywood, after telling of the arrival of Donelson's party at French Lick, says, "About this time Dr. Walker, one of the Virginia Commissioners for running the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, arrived at the bluff. Henderson soon after erected a station on Stone's River, at the place called Old Fields, now Clover Bottom, and he remained there a considerable time." Henderson, continues Haywood (pp. 107-108), sold land to various persons under the deed made in 1775 to his company by the Indians. He was at this time accompanied by his two brothers, Nathaniel and Pleasant.

64. Eaton's Station, on the other side of the Cumberland.

65. Harpeth River. Haywood also spells the name Harper's.

66. Who had been carrying the line across country while Smith visited the French Lick.

67. Smith, of course, had crossed the Cumberland.

68. In their report Walker and Smith say:—"From this place we extended the line across the heads of Green River and Red River, through a country called the Barrens from there being little or no timbers in it, in many places; crossed the Cumberland again at 131 miles, where there is a cliff on the Northeast side, and a



Sunday 26th. Easter Sunday. wind agt. us. 27th. Monday. fair wind part of the day, flawy. 28th. Tuesday. wind agt. us. pass'd the mouth of Red River. 29th. Wednesday wind agt. us. 30th. Thursday no wind. 31st. Friday got to Harpers Riv.<sup>69</sup> Apl. 1st. Saturday got to Tomhawk Cam [p] Apl 2d Sunday got to Amos Eaton's. Apl. 3d. Monday Rain. Tuesday 4th. Rain. Wednesday 5th. sold four Horses 3 Kettles some Tents &c. Settled some acct's. 6th. Thursday hunted horses. 7th. Friday Horses not all found—Received a letter from the governor to go to the Falls of Ohio on particular business. Col. Henderson brought this letter.<sup>70</sup> 8th. Saturday. This morning began to recruit a guard to go to the falls. Sunday 9th. 10th. Monday Col. Henderson informed 'twas his opinion Carolina would establish the line we had run. 11th. Tuesday little success in the recruiting way.<sup>71</sup> Wednesday 12th. moved to Gaspar Mancoes lick. Thursday 13th. two horses lost. hunted for them all day in rain. Just before we left Eatons we recd. of Major Bledsoe £454. 7. but on counting it again at a leisure hour found we had made an error that in counting one of the parcels we had counted a 35 for a fifty five dollar bill—and that the other parcel was £2, 16s. more than the 200£ which it had been counted for. so that we had recd. no more than 45£ 3 of which I used 11 Dollars to pay for the making a hunting Shirt and also pd. Gaspar Manscoe his charge of 30 Dollars for Diet at his house while the Horses were hunting. At Gaspar's recd. also £45 of Major Bledsoe for other Articles he had sold. recollected afterwards that the £2.16 was [paid] me by Major Bledsoe for expence which I had paid on the Back Line.

Saturday 15th. Apl. Crossed the line lay on the N. fork of the Red Riv.

Sunday 16th. at 12 m. came to Skeggs Cr. kept down it crossing it sev. times. encamped near the mouth course N 30 E. abt. 27 or 28 m. in the whole.

Monday 17th. cross'd Skegg's cr. and big barren Riv. this morning then to rocky Spring course N E. Abt. 13 or 14 m. then N 10 E. (left Trace) 4 m. and encamp'd on N. Side Green Riv.<sup>72</sup>

bottom about three quarters of a mile broad on the other side, and at the end of one hundred and forty miles, one quarter and eight poles from the two Beech trees on the twenty-third day of March found ourselves on the bank of the Tennessee River, and, of course, had run the line as far Westward as we were authorized to do, notwithstanding the hardships and difficulties we had to contend with. One of us kept through the woods with the Surveyor, while the other went down by water, by which means a tolerable map of the Cumberland River is taken; a fine river, being navigable at least 700 miles from the mouth upwards." This part of the map, too, is unfortunately not included in our map from the Draper Mss.

69. In Colonel John Donelson's Diary, containing the account of the voyage of the party under his command, the following entry bears date March 31st:—"Set out this day, and after running some distance, met with Col. Richard Henderson, who was running the line between Virginia and North-Carolina. At this meeting we were much rejoiced. He gave us every information we wished, and further informed us that he had purchased a quantity of corn in Kentucky, to be shipped at the Falls of Ohio for the use of the Cumberland settlement." Ramsey: *The Annals of Tennessee*, p. 202. Thus this party was within a few miles of Daniel Smith.

70. In their report Walker and Smith say:—"When we had returned homewards about 160 miles we met with orders from his Excellency, the Governor, to do another piece of service, which we suppose he has made you acquainted with." The nature of this service has been explained in part in the introduction, p. 41. For the letter see *Clark Papers*, pp. 392-393. Jefferson to Thomas Walker and Daniel Smith, dated Williamsburg, January 29. To this letter Jefferson refers in his Instructions to Clark, *Ibid.*, p. 386. Walker and Smith were to ascertain and mark the point where the boundary of Virginia struck the Mississippi "or Ohio."

71. Walker and Smith conclude their report to the Virginia Assembly with the following words: "We have also since seen Col. Henderson, one of the North Carolina Commissioners, who with another of his Colleagues has been examining our line, and he has repeatedly given us much reason to believe their State will establish the line as we ran it."

72. Smith was now on his way northward through Kentucky towards the Falls of the Ohio, the future Louisville. One marks the total absence of any established road beyond this point. Smith's route across the upper waters of Green and Salt Rivers seems to lie to the east of the roads to Louisville shown on the old maps.

Tuesday 18th. Moved about 10 m. on a course about N 10 E. encamp'd on a cr. we called Raccoon cr.

Wednesday 19th. down Raccoon Cr. 2 1-2 m. across a hill 1 m. to a large Cr. supposed to be the rolling fork of Salt River held on our course and in about 4 m. more came to the sd. cr. again it ran so crooked encamp'd on the E. Side. Course about N 30 E. 7 1-2 m. to day in the whole.

Thursday 20th. to day cross'd riv. up a cr. N 20 E 1 m. to fork up W fork W N W. 1 m. North 1 m. along a valley N 10 E. 3 m. to riv. W. 1 m. N 20 W 2 m.—reduced to a straight N 10 W. 6 1-2 m. lay on W. Side.

Friday 21st. cross'd cr. twice to day at 5 m. it seem'd to bear so much to E. we expect not to cross it again, in all reduced to straight N 8 E. 11 1-2 m. lay at a pond. barrens all day. continued to where I cut my foot.

Saturday 22d. N 5 E. 10 m. (at 7 m. a small cr. running to N. W. at 8 m. a dry one with a Spring N. W.) to a Buffaloe road, along the Buffaloe road N 55 E. 3 m. lay on a cr. along this Buffaloe road we saw Horse tracks which is the first marks we had seen of any human being having been in these desarts from the day we left rocky Spring.

Sunday 23d. Apl. Cut my foot accidentally this morning. travelled N 18 E. 12 m. N 80 E. 1-2 N 1 m. to a Lick. N to E. 1 1-2 m. thro some knobs to Salt Riv. on which we encamp'd after beginning a raft. It forks about 1-2 m. Above us.—Back Water from the Ohio seems to come here.

Monday 24th. Rafted across the River. then N 70 E. 1 1-2 into a Buffaloe road at foot of the hill which bore to left, we kept it about N. E. 5 1-2 m. to Bullets Lick. then North 3-4 m. encamp'd on a br:

Tuesday 25th. N. E. abt. 7 m. into the Trace leading to the Falls along it about North 12 m. to the Falls, where we were told Col. Clark had left that place 14th Inst. to go to the Iron Banks.<sup>73</sup> One Capt. Killer of his corps offer'd to carry us down to him as he was just going there and with him we agreed to go. Rain Thunder & lightning this afternoon—we got very wet. found Smith Hansborough here.

Wednesday 26th. Settled with Mr. Sharpe who fell in our debt £9 16s. which he paid—he had a bag afterwards. Pd. Edwin Garnet his acct. £75 4s. Also Jeremiah Sears the Same. Also Wm. West. the Same also Lewis Riland the same. Also let Jno. Jenkins have 35 Dollars and Hugh Hays 60 Dollars. pd. for my own use 10 Dollars to Mr. Sharpe for a Knife and 142 Dollars to Smith Hansborough in exchange of Guns. then embarked. Cloudy & misty. If Paper was plenty I would attempt a description of our uncomfortable situation—with a Xantippe of a Landlady, something like a petruchio of Shakespear or Nabal for a Landlord their Dirty children leaky boat Drunkenness &c. but I am by no means equal to the task.<sup>74</sup>

Thursday 27th. at day I suppose we were about 15 m. below the mouth of Salt River. To day I recollected that the excess of the 200<sup>th</sup> parcel was owing to Major Bledsoe's having paid me 9 Dollars for expence I had paid on the back line. drifted all night, we thought we discover'd an Indian fire on their Shore to night.

Thursday 27th. Nothing remarkable, drifted chiefly or rowed but little saw several fires on shore to night which we suppose must be caused either by the woods being on fire or by the Indians drifted all night. Friday 28th. rowed & drifted nothing remarkable but scarcity of provision. foot painful.

Saturday 29th. this afternoon passed the mouth of Green River wrote a note to Col. Henderson. Sunday 30th. Strong wind agt. us till after-

<sup>73</sup>. An abandoned French fort on the Mississippi River five miles below the mouth of the Ohio.

<sup>74</sup>. For Clark's activities and the general conditions of the region see James's Introduction to the *Clark Papers*, pp. cxix-cxxvii.



noon lay still till wind abated. then started. we lay at Yellow Banks last night.

Monday 1st. May wind agt. us—hunting parties detained us on an Island opposite to the mouth of Wabash Riv. till near sun down, then Started down & row'd all night.

Tuesday 2d. May. Very sick. came by the mouth of Cum: abt. 8 o'clock this evening.

Wednesday 3d. This morning at break of day opposite to the old fort Massac<sup>75</sup> this afternoon at 5 o'clock got to the mouth of the Ohio. then down the Mississippi about 5 m. to Col. Clarkes encampment, who we saw this evening and had some conversation with respecting our business.

Thursday 4th & Friday 5th. Staid at the Intended Town.<sup>76</sup>

Saturday 6th. Went down to the Iron Bank, encamp'd on the Spanish Shore a little below—rather hazy.

Sunday 7th. Cloudy. rain last night. Monday 8th. clear in morning but cloudy at noon. run some lines to enable us to know the width of riv.

Tuesday 9th. May. cloudy, but being convinced we were north of the line moved to the S. end of the Island—abt. 5 m.

Wednesday 10th. observed. Thursday 11th. agreed with Yesterdays observ. we were 3' 19" in Virginia—from this point of the Island we ran east to the main land where I marked a buck eye elm & Sugar tree then South 3 m. 265 po. thence West. 106 po. to riv. 96 po. of which we mark'd. new land is forming here, nothing to mark but cotton trees.—moved up the riv. till abt. 1 m. below Wt. Clift.—a cr: abt. 1-4 m. above wt. clift.—lay in the wet without fire.

Friday 12th. got up to Col. Clarke.

Saturday 13th. embark'd again for Kaskaskios.<sup>77</sup>

Thursday 18th. arrived at Kaskaskios. and remained there (which place we made Lat. 37°. 39'. N) till

Monday 5th. June not well the night of 5th June. left this place to go homewards. arrived at Camp Jefferson

Wednesday 7th. June a few minutes after the Indians had murdered 3 men near the town. 2 others were missing supposed to be made prisoners and it appeared that had killed another last monday from his bloody clothes being found in the Indians Canoes. people much distressed for want of provisions and in confusion.

Saturday 10th. June. Col Clark with 2 men sat off to go by land to the falls of Ohio.

Wednesday 14th. June. embarked to go to the falls of Ohio with no more provision than one quart of unsound corn per day for ten days. Tuesday 4th. July arrived at the falls.

Thursday 6th. Sent for our horses and went as far as Col. Floyds, who lent us 195 £. 15 of which Jenkins used in Swap of guns and is to be charged with.—Monday 10th. July got to Harrodsburgh,<sup>78</sup> continued on by that place to Willson's Station.

Tuesday 11th. July—got up to Logan's—overtook Col. Henderson on the road. 12th. Staid all Day at Logan's.

Thursday 13th. July. left Logans and got 2 m. S. E. of Chas. English's.

75. On the Ohio, below the mouth of the Tennessee.

76. Fort Jefferson. The building of a fort at this point had been advocated by Patrick Henry in 1777. for the purpose of facilitating intercourse with the Spaniards at New Orleans. Clark and John Todd had agreed on the advisability of such an occupation. Clark began the establishment of the post in April, 1780. June 8, 1781, the post was evacuated for lack of supplies. See note 74.

77. Kaskaskia, the French settlement in the Illinois country where Clark, over-coming a British post under Rocheblave, in July, 1778, began his conquest of the northwest for Virginia.

78. The final course of the journey was across Kentucky by a much more traveled road.

Friday night 14th. July lay on the most easterly waters of Skegg's cr: before we came to rock Castle.

Saturday night 15th. July. lay on Laurel Riv. Waters.

Sunday night 16th. July. lay on Rich land cr.

Monday night 17th. July lay cross'd Cumberland lay on Clear Cr.

Tuesday 18th. July cross'd Cum: mountains & lay abt. 2 m. east of the Gap.—to night the Indians stole 7 of our horses.

Wednesday 19th. July followed after our horses and retook them.

Thursday 20th. July. got to Trading Cr.

Friday 21st to Crismans Spring—Settled and pd. Hugh Hays 830 & 270 Dollars.

Saturday 22d. July—parted with Mr. Walker.—lay between the Stock Cr. & the Rye Cove.<sup>78</sup>

Sunday 23d. lay at David Guess old place.

Monday 24th. lay at Chas. Hays's.

Tuesday 25th. got home. 7th Augt. Monday in the morning early [Here the Journal breaks off.]

79. On the Clinch River, near Smith's home.









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